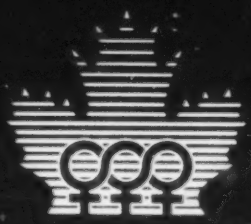
PRIMED FOR POWER:
WOMEN IN CANADIAN POLITICS



on the Status of Women

Conseil
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sur la situation de la femme

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BACKGROUND PAPER

PRIMED FOR POWER: WOMEN IN CANADIAN POLITICS

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Executive Summary

In this study, data are used to trace the development of women's representation in Canadian political institutions from which they were excluded for so long. While concentrating on the presence of women in the official spheres of politics, the study also shows that the political culture of women cannot be limited to this dimension alone.

At varying times during the 20th century, groups of women in Canada became full citizens with political rights similar to those of men. It took several decades, however, before women made their appearance in significant numbers in Parliament, provincial/territorial legislatures, and municipal councils. Only in the 1980s did the number of women elected to these bodies increase notably. In several major Canadian cities, women now make up over a quarter of the municipal councils, and progress has also been significant in provincial/territorial legislatures. However, women are still seriously under-represented in Parliament.

Studies have shown the existence of specific obstacles preventing women from entering politics. Such obstacles can have varying impacts on different women and different types of political power. During the 1980s, these studies led to the adoption of strategies designed to increase the number of women in elected office and overcome the legacy of political exclusion. Such initiatives originated in feminist groups and, to a lesser extent, in the political parties. The struggle waged by feminist groups over the past decade has resulted in the firm resolve to bring more women into politics. This is based on the belief that, when greater in number, women are more likely to support issues important for their future. This study looks at efforts to increase women's political participation, and demonstrates that women have different values and perspectives on political action.

In conclusion, the author proposes a series of initiatives designed to increase the number of women in elected and appointed positions of political power and influence. Unless specific measures are taken, it is possible that women's representation in politics will grow only very slightly, thus postponing gender parity in the political arena until the distant future.

Introduction

Fewer than ten years before the dawn of the third millennium — that magic number reminding us that yesterday's science fiction is today's reality — women's relationship to politics is still not completely understood. This is not surprising, since the issue is fraught with paradox. In the 20th century, women in Canada have adopted lifestyles that represent a total break with the experience of their grandmothers, some of whom in 1918 obtained the right to vote in federal elections.

Women gained the federal vote in stages. In 1917, women in the Armed Forces as well as women with close relatives in the Armed Forces obtained the right to vote. In 1918, the federal vote was extended to women who had the same qualifications as male electors in their province, although women who had been born outside Canada and who had become British subjects by marriage or naturalization of their parents needed a judge's certificate before they could vote. Women and men of Chinese, East Indian, and Japanese ancestry continued to be denied the vote until the late 1940s. In 1885, Indian men (except those in Manitoba, British Columbia, Keewatin, the Northwest Territories, and any Indian without land worth $150) were extended the right to vote; however, this was withdrawn in 1896 after arguments that they were not legal persons. It was not until 1960 that both female and male Inuit and "registered Indians" living on reserves got the federal vote.[1]

For women in Canada, getting the vote did not wipe out the effects of having been excluded from politics for as long as they could remember. The data presented in this study illustrate that even in the closing years of this century, women continue to make only very slow inroads into the world of politics, judging by their presence in official political bodies. While the women of Canada have legally become full citizens, the division of the public and private spheres has continued to operate throughout the 20th century. Although women have been admitted into the public sphere, it was not until feminists raised the issue that anyone thought of changing the rules of politics to take into account the values, practices, and culture acquired by women during their period of exclusion from political life. In this study, current trends in relation to women and politics have been examined in light of this exclusion.

Overview

This background paper begins with an analysis of data which demonstrate the current representation of women in official Canadian politics, at the federal, provincial/territorial, and municipal levels. International data are used to compare the situation of women in Canada with that of women elsewhere in the world. This data analysis is completed by a retrospective study of women's representation in positions of influence in Canada: the judiciary; the Senate; and federal boards, agencies, commissions, Crown corporations, and the upper echelons of the federal public service.

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The second important aspect explored in the study is Canadian society's growing interest in recent years in women and politics. Obstacles encountered by women trying to take their place in the political arena are discussed, with special attention to the effects of egalitarian policies adopted to correct social and economic inequalities exposed in the 1960s. The specific efforts of women's groups and political parties to increase women's representation in politics are also examined.

The paper concludes with projections of women's representation in politics in the 1990s and the author's proposals for increasing the visibility and influence of women in positions of political power. In addition to an annotated bibliography, the paper includes two appendices. Appendix 1 discusses a seminar, held in British Columbia for women politicians and women academics, designed to encourage a dialogue between the two groups. Appendix 2 is a list of resource groups that can help women achieve a greater presence in the official and unofficial corridors of power.

Approaches to the Study of Women and Politics

A feminist approach to the question of political power must start with some definitions. What precisely do we mean by political power? Does it involve only official settings in which symbolic power is wielded, or should we include less official aspects such as influence? Do we support the principle that women should become part of the structure of political power in its current form, or that they should boycott it for ideological reasons?

Sylvie Paquerot speaks of feminism and political power in the following terms:

> Faced with power, all women, whether feminists or not, are confronted with three possible strategies: to become part of the existing structure of political power and find a position of equality within it; to challenge the existing power structure through parties whose goal is to pre-empt such power in order to transform it; or remain on the fringes of the established structures in order to engage in pressure tactics and subversion.[2] (translation)

A significant proportion of feminists reject the first strategy and refuse to accept the legitimacy of existing political institutions founded on the exclusion of women and on conspicuously patriarchal values.[3] However, other feminists believe it is possible to work within these institutions — and that is the position taken in this study. The latter view is based on the fact that such institutions have tremendous power over the lives of women and on the belief that their institutional culture can be changed. The reasoning is that women will have a better chance of changing these institutions from within than from outside, provided they are present in large enough numbers. An army of volunteers will be required to meet the challenge in the years to come.

Until now, no electoral system has had a power structure in which women were a majority.[4] A number of women authors support the idea that beyond any party allegiance, women in politics tend to show solidarity with lobby groups that defend the interests of women, even when they are in the minority.[5] There is good reason to

believe, however, that a "critical mass" of women politicians is needed to be able to express this difference.

Today, women are still emerging from a long culture of exclusion from politics; they remain generally under-represented in the political arena, given that they comprise more than half of the adult population in Canada. Racial and ethnic minority women, women with disabilities, and Aboriginal women are especially under-represented. The legacy of exclusion, experienced on a historical and cross-cultural basis, is one element that shapes and determines how women fit into today's political institutions. While this culture constitutes an additional obstacle because of the burden of difference it perpetuates, it is nonetheless an inevitable component of women's political identity.

While the notion of a culture of exclusion can be used to describe the relation of women to the official framework in which political power is exercised, women throughout history have nonetheless forged other models that today are starting to be examined rigorously.[6] This background paper will focus particular attention on women's representation in this traditional framework; however, this should not be interpreted as denying the existence of other forms of women's political power. Political power is manifested not just in such institutions as Parliament, provincial/territorial legislatures, and municipal councils. Political power can be more broadly defined as influence and decision-making on questions of collective interest (as opposed to the traditional, more restrictive definition that puts the State at the centre of political power). This allows us to focus on other aspects of women's political role. For example, women have a strong presence on the boards of child-care facilities and on parents' committees in schools, participate in various forms of community action, and are the heart and soul of volunteer organizations. The presence of women in positions that are less official, less hierarchical or structured, is an integral part of their existing political culture, given their poor representation at higher levels of the political process.

Several studies have identified a series of obstacles which explain women's under-representation in the political process.[7] These obstacles include the political parties' failure to make provision for gender roles and women's family responsibilities, the organizational culture of political parties, and the socio-economic conditions of the average woman.

First, it is well known that the rules of the game and the workings of the political sphere do not make any provision for the gender roles and family responsibilities that remain at the heart of women's lives. This obstacle has a greater impact on women interested in entering federal or provincial/territorial politics than on those whose goal is municipal politics. If it is true that family ties and political responsibilities are to a certain degree incompatible in a society where the private and public realms are mutually exclusive, then for many women, entering active politics seems feasible only on condition that they avoid the constraints of private life. Still, family responsibilities can act as a spur to political action because they lead to greater community involvement, for example, through parental involvement in school committees.[8]

Second, the general organizational culture of the political parties perpetuates values and imposes standards which are foreign to many women and with which they feel unequipped to cope. These structures, developed at a time when women were not involved in politics, can to a certain degree reproduce "macho" or patriarchal models. Within the political parties, systemic discrimination against women is practised at the higher levels of power. In the name of the party's best interests, the old clichés are invoked: a man can win where a woman will lose, the public reacts badly to women candidates, etc.[9] Today, however, participants in backroom party politics display more resistance to the idea of women in politics than does the general public. A 1989 Gallup poll showed that at least 95% of Canadians would either be more inclined to vote for a party which had a woman as its leader or would not be influenced by it; only 4% of respondents declared that they would be less inclined to vote for a party with a woman leader.[10]

Third, as a result of the socio-economic conditions of the average woman, for example, type of employment, income bracket, and type of educational qualifications, only a very small number of women correspond to the traditional profile of a politician. These obstacles have an effect particularly in federal and provincial/territorial politics, where becoming a candidate requires significant financial resources. Despite a predetermined ceiling on election expenses in Canada, and much smaller amounts spent than, for example, in the United States, candidates still must have access to economic networks that can shoulder part of the nomination campaign costs.[11] In the race for the Liberal Party leadership in June 1990, Sheila Copps expected to spend over a million dollars, despite being the candidate with the most modest means.[12] Access to socio-economic networks is a fundamental requirement for running for office; in this respect, women are at a disadvantage because very few of them belong to the financial circles or seats of power that provide an advantage for anyone entering politics. As long as the rules of the game remain the same, women will continue to be at a disadvantage. Moreover, no government aid is available for the pre-nomination stage; this can represent an insurmountable financial obstacle for many women interested in running for office.

In the face of this list of obstacles that may explain women's underrepresentation in politics, it is important to clarify two points. First, it is possible that the effect of these obstacles differs among political parties; some of the parties demonstrate more open-mindedness toward women because of party history or the makeup of the rank and file. Second, the impact of these obstacles may vary depending on the level of political power: participation in municipal politics does not encroach upon family life as much as federal politics (unless one represents a riding in the Ottawa-Hull area). Moreover, not all women experience the same degree of difficulty in coping with these obstacles.

Despite obstacles, women have made breakthroughs at various levels of politics. Subsequent sections of this paper will evaluate the progress made by women in politics during the 1980s, and then examine in greater detail the strategies they adopted in order to take their place in the political arena.

The 1980s: A Turning Point for Women in Politics

Beyond the differences in the way women and men experience the political sphere, in the past few years new concerns involving women's representation in politics have emerged. These concerns have been expressed both by women's groups founded specifically to promote such representation, and by government officials and power structures such as the political parties.

Throughout the decade, the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW), in accordance with its mandate to provide information and advice on matters of concern to women, has released a variety of publications and has organized a national symposium on this issue, thereby reflecting the growing interest in this subject.[13] At the same time, through the efforts of many women in Canada, an impressive number of initiatives have been implemented to promote action and further reflection on women and politics (this will be discussed further in a subsequent section). The 1980s effectively constituted a turning point: a great deal of energy was devoted to finding ways to significantly increase women's representation in politics, and to considering the question from a more theoretical standpoint.

The following section presents data enabling a quantitative evaluation of women's progress within existing political structures in recent years. Various hypotheses regarding the fragility of the role played by women in politics are then discussed.

A Decade of Progress? Data on Women in Political Institutions, 1980-1990

Federal Politics

The CACSW background paper *Women in Politics: Becoming Full Partners in the Political Process* states:

> The headlines after the 1984 federal election proclaimed dramatic gains for women. Canadian voters elected 27 women to sit in the 282-seat House of Commons, almost double the number elected in 1980.[14]

A similar rate of increase was achieved in the 1988 election, when 12 more women were elected to Parliament. Table 1 shows this consistent rise in the percentage of women members of Parliament (MPs) between 1980 and 1988, as well as the large increase in women candidates, whose proportion grew from 9.4% in 1974 to 19.2% in the 1988 election.

Table 1: Percentage of Women Candidates in Federal Elections and Percentage of Women Elected, 1921-1988

Election year	% of women candidates	% of women elected
1921-1967	2.4	0.8
1968	3.5	0.4
1972	6.4	1.8
1974	9.4	3.4
1979	13.8	3.6
1980	14.4	5.7
1984	14.5	9.6
1988	19.2	13.2*

Source: Data for 1921 to 1984 come from Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, *Women in Politics: Becoming Full Partners in the Political Process* (Ottawa: 1987), and for 1988, from Elections Canada.

Note: * One woman was added after the 1989 Alberta by-election, bringing the number of women in the House of Commons to 40 (13.5%).

Table 2 shows that some provinces/territories have a head start in the percentage of women MPs. The Yukon, with one seat held by a woman, is statistically ahead of all other regions of Canada simply because there is only one electoral district (riding). Similarly, the 50% figure for the Northwest Territories is tempered by the fact that the NWT has only two ridings. Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Quebec, and Ontario each earn an honourable mention because of the relatively high percentage of women's representation. Ontario had four more women elected than in 1984, British Columbia elected two more. Nonetheless, Quebec, after the 1988 elections in which 13 women were elected, had one fewer female member than in 1984. Three provinces have no women MPs: Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland. Progress has been made in Canada as a whole, considering that after the 1984 federal election, six provinces and two territories had no elected women MPs.

A comparison of the figures in Table 3 and Table 4 reveals that, in 1988, the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada (PCC) ran 37 women candidates, 21 of whom were elected; in 1984 they ran 23 women candidates, 19 of whom were elected. In 1988, the Liberal Party of Canada (LPC) nominated 53 women and 13 were elected; in 1984, 47 women bore the colours of the Liberal Party, and 5 were elected. The New Democratic Party (NDP) had the largest number of female candidates in the two elections: 84 in 1988 and 64 in 1984, but only 5 of them won in 1988 and 3 in 1984. In 1988, a significant number of women, 128, represented smaller parties or ran as independents, compared with 83 in 1984; none were elected in either election. But in 1989, Reform Party candidate Deborah Grey was elected during a by-election in Alberta.

Table 2: Number and Percentage of Women Holding Seats in the House of Commons, 1984 and 1988, by Province and Territory

Province/Territory	Total number of ridings by province/territory, 1988	Number of women members		% of women elected in 1988
		1988*	1984**	
British Columbia	32	6	4	18.7
Alberta	26	2	1	7.6
Saskatchewan	14	0	0	0.0
Manitoba	14	1	0	7.1
Ontario	99	12	8	12.1
Quebec	75	13	14	17.3
Nova Scotia	11	2	0	18.1
New Brunswick	10	0	0	0.0
Prince Edward Island	4	1	0	25.0
Newfoundland	7	0	0	0.0
Yukon	1	1	0	100.0
Northwest Territories	2	1	0	50.0
Total	**295**	**39**	**27**	**13.2**

Source: Elections Canada, 1989.

Notes: The total number of ridings increased for three provinces between 1984 and 1988. Ontario and British Columbia each gained four seats and Alberta five, raising the total of elected members from 282 in 1984 to 295 in 1988.

* In 1989, one woman was elected in the Alberta by-election, bringing the total of women members representing Alberta to 3 (11.5%) and the total of women elected to 40 (13.5%).

** Two women were added between the 1984 and 1988 elections: one in Ontario and the other in the Yukon. They are not included in the totals for 1984.

Table 3: Women Candidates in 1988 Federal Election, by Province/Territory and Political Party

Province/Territory	Candidates									
	Total	Elected	LPC	Elected	PCC	Elected	NDP	Elected	Other	Elected
British Columbia	43	6	6	0	6	2	9	4	22	0
Alberta	31	2*	8	0	2	2	7	0	14	0
Saskatchewan	7	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	2	0
Manitoba	8	1	2	0	1	1	1	0	4	0
Ontario	107	12	17	7	11	5	35	0	44	0
Quebec	86	13	11	2	16	11	17	0	42	0
Nova Scotia	7	2	3	2	0	0	4	0	0	0
New Brunswick	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Prince Edward Island	5	1	1	1	0	0	4	0	0	0
Newfoundland	3	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Yukon	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Northwest Territories	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**302**	**39***	**33**	**13**	**37**	**21**	**84**	**5**	**128**	**0**

Source: Elections Canada, 1989.

Note: * One woman was added in 1989 for Alberta, bringing the number of women elected from that province to three and the total number of women in the House of Commons to 40. She is Deborah Grey, representing a small party, the Reform Party.

Table 4: Women Candidates and Women Elected in 1984 Federal Election, by Political Party

Party	Women Candidates	Women Elected
Progressive Conservative Party	23	19
Liberal Party	47	5
New Democratic Party	64	3
Other	83	0
Total	**217**	**27**

Source: Elections Canada, 1990.

In the 1988 federal election, 302 candidates (less than 20%) were women — in comparison with 1,272 men (Table 5). More specifically, for a total of 295 ridings, the Progressive Conservative Party ran 258 men and 37 women (12.5%); the Liberals ran 242 men and 53 women (18%); and the New Democratic Party ran 211 men and 84 women (28.4%). As well, 562 men and 128 women (18.5%), nearly half of the women who ran for office, represented smaller parties or ran as independents, with practically no chance of being elected.[15]

Table 5: 1988 Federal Election Candidates, by Sex and by Province/Territory

Province/Territory	Total number of ridings	Total number of candidates (M + W)	Men	Women	% of women
British Columbia	32	226	183	43	19.0
Alberta	26	167	136	31	18.5
Saskatchewan	14	57	50	7	12.2
Manitoba	14	86	78	8	9.3
Ontario	99	513	406	107	20.8
Quebec	75	386	300	86	22.2
Nova Scotia	11	46	39	7	15.2
New Brunswick	10	43	40	3	6.9
Prince Edward Island	4	14	9	5	35.7
Newfoundland	7	23	20	3	13.0
Yukon	1	4	3	1	25.0
Northwest Territories	2	9	8	1	11.1
Total	**295**	**1,574**	**1,272**	**302**	**19.2**

Source: Elections Canada, 1989.

Table 6 shows that men still have a much better chance than women of being elected, even though the proportion of women candidates has more than doubled between 1980 and 1988, from 6.4% to nearly 13%. Nonetheless, this proportion remained virtually the same between 1984 and 1988, although the total number of women candidates rose from 217 to 302, an increase of 28%.[16]

Table 6: Percentage of Women and Men Elected in Federal Elections, by Sex, 1972-1988

Election year	% of women candidates elected	% of men candidates elected
1972	7.6	25.6
1974	7.2	20.4
1979	5.1	22.1
1980	6.4	20.0
1984	12.8	20.6
1988	12.9	20.1

Source: For 1972 to 1984, see Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, *Women in Politics: Becoming Full Partners in the Political Process* (Ottawa: 1987); 1988 information was compiled from Elections Canada data.

The number of women elected to Parliament increased from 27 in 1984 to 39 in 1988 (Table 2). Which party elected the most women? In 1988, the Liberals elected eight more women than in 1984; the Progressive Conservatives and the NDP each elected two more women than in 1984. These gains must be viewed in the context of the overall election results. In 1988, the Progressive Conservative Party lost a total

Table 7: Women's Representation in Provincial/Territorial Legislatures, by Province/Territory, 1989 and 1986

Province/Territory	Total number of seats	Number of women members		% of women members	
	1989	1989	1986	1989	1986*
British Columbia	69	10	6	14.4	9.5
Alberta	83	13	6	15.6	7.0
Saskatchewan	64	5	5	7.8	7.8
Manitoba	57	9	7	15.7	12.2
Ontario	130	21	9	16.1	7.2
Quebec	125	23	18	18.4	14.7
Nova Scotia	52	3	3	5.7	5.7
New Brunswick	58	7	3	12.0	5.1
Prince Edward Island	32	7	2	21.8	6.2
Newfoundland	52	2	1	3.8	1.9
Yukon	16	4	2	25.0	12.5
Northwest Territories	24	2	2	8.3	8.3

Source: Information obtained by telephone from the departments of communications of the provincial and territorial governments.

Note: * The total number of seats varied between 1986 and 1989 for certain provinces.

Table 8: Number of Women Ministers in Provincial/Territorial Legislatures and Percentage of Ministers, by Sex, of the Total Elected, 1989

Province/Territory	Total number of ministers* (M + W)	Number of women ministers	% of women ministers	% of women ministers out of the total of women elected	% of men ministers out of the total of men elected
British Columbia	23	1	4.3	10.0	37.2
Alberta	27	3	11.1	23.0	34.2
Saskatchewan	20	1	5.0	20.0	11.9
Manitoba	17	3	17.6	33.0	9.4
Ontario	26	6	23.0	28.5	19.6
Quebec	30	6	20.0	26.0	23.5
Nova Scotia	22	0	0.0	0.0	44.8
New Brunswick	24	4	16.6	57.1	39.2
Prince Edward Island	11	2	18.2	28.5	36.0
Newfoundland	15	1	6.6	50.0	28.0
Yukon	5	1	20.0	25.0	33.3
Northwest Territories	8	2	25.0	100.0	27.2

Source: Information obtained by telephone from the departments of communications of the provinces and territories.

Note: * Including the premier.

[**Editor's note:** As this background paper goes to press, we are pleased to announce continued improvements for women in provincial politics. Although the total number of women candidates in the September 6, 1990 Ontario election fell from 96 in 1987 to 85 in 1990, their success rate improved from 20.8% to 32.9%. In all, 28 women (21.5%) were elected in the Ontario election, up from 21 (16.5%) in the previous election. Women comprise 25.6% (19 of 74 seats) of the majority NDP government in Ontario; a record 11 cabinet positions are held by women. As well, gender parity has been instituted in two of the most senior cabinet committees: Policy and Priorities Board, and Management Board of Cabinet. The September 12, 1990 election in Manitoba also resulted in a greater number of women MPPs; 11 women (19.2%) were elected, up from 9 (15.7%) in 1988.]

Municipal Politics

Women's struggle to become a political force appears somewhat more successful, if we examine their representation in municipal politics, especially in large urban centres. For northern Saskatchewan's 37 municipalities, the small amount of existing information[18] indicates that, in 1989, women made up 29.6% of municipal councillors and 10.8% of mayors.[19] In Quebec, which keeps detailed statistics going back to 1978 on the evolution of women's representation in municipal politics, women hold 14.3% of the positions on municipal councils, but only 5.5% of mayors are women.[20] In 1978, Quebec had 11 women mayors, less than 1% of the total number of mayors holding office. During the 1980s, the percentage gradually increased to 5.5%. Also during this decade, women for the first time succeeded in getting elected as mayors of cities with more than 30,000 residents, while previously they almost exclusively had headed small towns of under 5,000 inhabitants. For Quebec municipalities overall, the percentage of women councillors increased significantly between 1980 and 1989, from 339 in 1980 (4.1% of council seats) to 1,314 in 1988 (14.3%). In 1987, 61% of municipal councils included at least one woman. Moreover, in northern Quebec, one-third of the members of elected bodies in Aboriginal communities were women. In 1987, the village of Kangiqsujuaq elected a municipal council in which five of the seven members were women, including the mayor.[21] In the Northwest Territories, 18% of municipal councillors and 14% of mayors are women.[22]

The percentage of women on the municipal councils of major Canadian cities is significantly higher than the percentage of women in provincial and federal bodies. Although only partial data on women in municipal politics for all regions of Canada is available, the example of Quebec shows that in that province, women constitute a distinctly larger proportion of councils of the large cities (Montreal and Quebec City) than in the province as a whole. The same pattern has been observed in the countries of northern Europe: women are more of a force in local politics in urban areas than in rural areas.[23]

Table 9 shows that among the data presented so far, percentages are highest for women councillors of large cities. In fact, nine of the twelve major Canadian cities had 25% or more women councillors; Edmonton was in the lead, with 53.8% women councillors and a woman mayor, Jan Reamer, elected in 1989.

Table 9: Number and Percentage of Women Serving on Municipal Councils in Major Canadian Cities, 1989

City	Total number of elected representatives (including mayor)	Year of last election	Number of women councillors	% of women councillors
Edmonton	13	1989	7	53.8
Calgary	14	1989	6	42.8
Saint John's	5	1985	2	40.0
Ottawa	15	1988	5	33.3
Regina	10	1988	3	30.0
Vancouver	10	1988	3	30.0
Quebec City	22	1989	6	27.2
Montreal	60	1986	15	25.0
Toronto	24	1988	6	25.0
Halifax	13	1988	3	23.0
Winnipeg	30	1989	6	20.0
Fredericton	12	1989	2	16.6

Source: Telephone contact with the city halls of the cities involved, 1989.

Several theories may be offered to explain women's higher participation in municipal politics compared to that in federal or provincial/territorial politics. First, extensive travel (as is required to work in the federal or provincial/territorial capital) is more of a burden for many women because of their family responsibilities. Second, the financial resources required to run for municipal office are lower and thus constitute less of an obstacle to women who generally have less access to financial networks. Third, it is possible that the kinds of issues dealt with in municipal politics interest women more than those at other levels of politics. With regard to women's lower political participation in towns or rural areas, compared to that in large cities, it can be argued that some of the former's traditional areas of responsibility are less related to women's traditional responsibilities. (See also endnote 23.)

Band Councils

The *Indian Act* creates "bands" as the basic institution of Indian government, defines who will be members, how they will be elected, what their powers are, their relationship to provincial governments, and establishes rules for the management of reserve lands and band economic activities. According to the *Indian Act*, bands are subordinate governments, much like municipal councils. Subordinate governments

have only those powers granted to them by the enabling legislation (for example, the *Indian Act*): their legislative powers are limited to making by-laws consistent with the enabling legislation. According to this perspective, Indian bands are considered agents of the federal government, and the bands' role is to deliver services for and provide advice to the federal government.

It should come as no surprise to the reader that Aboriginal peoples do not share this perspective. Many argue that they have inherent jurisdiction, that is, independent authority to govern, and many traditional political structures co-exist with band councils. The traditional culture of many Aboriginal societies was matrifocal, that is, women had a relatively high degree of economic and social authority. For example, in Iroquois society up to the nineteenth century, women elders chose the Council elders, the highest ruling body, and also had veto powers in questions of war and peace. Today, in Mohawk communities, clan mothers continue to choose the hereditary chief.

In 1989, the number of Indian band councils led by women was 58 of 594 (8.8%). For the reasons outlined above, any assessment of the political role and influence of women in Aboriginal communities must go beyond their numerical representation on band councils.[24]

International Politics

Are trends in the political representation of women in Canada comparable with those elsewhere in the world? At first glance, comparison seems difficult because Canada, with its liberal-democratic structures, is a particular type of political regime. Moreover, recognition of the formal political rights of women did not occur at the same time everywhere in the world nor did it immediately entail the exercise of these rights.[25] In Jordan, for example, the right to vote was officially granted to women in 1974, but they actually voted for the first time in 1989 because no election was held until that year. Jordanian women also acquired the right to be elected to public office; 12 women, out of a total of 652 candidates, ran for office in 1989.[26]

In the United States, which was one of the first countries to have a women's suffrage movement in the 19th century, and where feminist groups are among the best organized, women's representation in politics on a national scale still remains poor: only 5% of Congress in 1988, compared with 4% in 1975.[27] However, at the state level, women's representation has improved significantly from 4.5% in 1971 to 15.8% in 1988.[28]

Women in the United States had only two women senators out of 100 in 1988, the same number as in 1960. No women were elected to the Senate between 1972 and 1978. In fact, the United States continues to be among the countries with the lowest percentage of women elected to public office at the national level, although women have made significant advances in local politics.[29] It should be emphasized, however, that this may change as a result of the development of women's organizations set up specifically to promote women's access to politics, and to implement funding

campaigns. The latter focus is particularly important; money is a major obstacle, given the astronomical sums required by candidates for U.S. election campaigns.

The Women's Campaign Fund, a U.S. group that has strong links with women in both the Democratic and Republican parties, was formed in 1974. The Fund is successful in raising funds for women candidates. The International Institute for Women's Political Leadership, headed by Geraldine Ferraro, trains women for political action. The Institute offers a university-level program that focuses on leadership, and is currently directing its attention primarily to women but also to men from ethnic and racial minorities. The training includes an internship during which the student is twinned with a politician. Finally, women elected to various levels of government have formed groups such as the Congresswomen's Caucus, founded in 1977 to promote issues of interest to feminist groups within the political structure.

In Europe, women's representation in politics varies enormously depending on the region. For example, in 1986, French women constituted less than 6% of deputies on the national level and less than 4% of mayors, but held 14% of the seats on municipal councils.[30] In Switzerland, women acquired the right to vote at the federal level in 1971, but in certain cantons (regions) they still are not permitted to vote.[31] Nonetheless, Switzerland has a higher percentage of women elected at the national level (10.5% in the 1987 elections) than France (5.8% in 1986).[32]

The Scandinavian countries have a healthy head start in this respect and their exceptional situation has attracted the attention of media and women. In fact, on a global basis they have the highest percentage of women in elected office. In 1987, the percentage of women at the national level varied among the following countries: Finland 30%, Sweden 29%, Denmark 25%, and Norway 34%. (The Norwegian government of feminist Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland was defeated in the 1989 election.) Iceland also stands out, not so much for the percentage of women elected (13 out of 63 in 1988, or 20%) but because Icelandic women founded the Women's Alliance movement; 6 of the 13 women elected to the parliament of Iceland belong to the Alliance.[33] Iceland also has a woman head of state, Vigdis Finnobogadottir, who has held the position since 1980. In this case, the head of state has significant power, for although the office of president is highly symbolic, the incumbent chooses the head of government. This is important because Iceland is a country with proportional representation, where no political party obtains a majority and governments are formed by alliances among several political parties. In this context, the Women's Alliance, with an overtly feminist political platform that gives top priority to the common interests of all the women of Iceland, has succeeded in gaining a certain influence in the Icelandic parliament as well as considerable support from the female population.

What explains women's advances in the political arena in the Scandinavian countries? Studies have shown that these countries have certain characteristics in common: a small population that is culturally homogeneous and almost completely literate, an electoral system based on proportional representation, and social values that recognize the principle of equality of the sexes. To a greater extent than elsewhere, these countries have implemented a series of measures related to child-

rearing, resulting in the State assuming some family responsibilities.[34] As well, particular social and cultural aspects of the Scandinavian countries seem to encourage women to enter politics. An additional factor is the impact of proportional representation and the many possibilities it offers to women; one example is the setting of quotas, which can be easily implemented.

Norway's Labour Party, one of that country's main political parties, decided in 1983 to adopt a quota system under which 40% of the names on the ballot had to be women. In the 1985 election, 42% of elected Labour Party candidates were women.[35] Other political parties in Norway have also adopted this type of quota system. This radical measure seems to have had a clear-cut effect on the makeup of Norway's political elite. Why did Norway decide to introduce such a measure in the first place? There are several possible explanations. First, the country has a long record of awareness and concern that all socio-economic groups be represented in Parliament; the principle of equal representation plays an important role in the selection and nomination process of candidates. This characteristic of Norway's political culture has possibly encouraged greater sensitivity to demands for genuine political representation for women.[36]

Moreover, Norwegian women's groups have been in the forefront of political action for a long time. But with demands increasingly focused on the State, and with government increasingly the locus where demands are met, Norwegian women have become more aware of the importance of having their interests represented at the political level, and therefore have sought to increase their participation in the political process. Ironically, this breakthrough by women is also seen as a sign that men have begun to desert politics, which is increasingly seen as powerless, in favour of financial institutions and economic power.[37] However, there are few indications that politics is losing impetus faster in Norway than elsewhere in the world. It is obvious that nowhere does political power grant its possessors unlimited power, which is a healthy situation for parliamentary democracy.

In Canada, for example, the power to formulate legislation is principally concentrated in the hands of a few members of Parliament, the cabinet ministers. Bills are subsequently voted on by all members of Parliament, and easily pass under a majority government. Opposition members, like majority backbenchers, can study and try to amend bills that are sent to the parliamentary commissions they sit on, but cannot change their basic substance. Thus political power is more concentrated within the cabinet; as well, certain ministers have more power than others.

As is true in Canada, women's representation in international politics is very inconsistent. Interestingly enough, individual women have made progress in some countries where the rights of women in general are still very precarious. A number of women have come to political power because a man in their family died as a result of political reasons. In Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto benefited from the image of her father. In the Philippines, Corazon Aquino chose political involvement in order to continue the work of her late husband, as did Violeta Chamorro more recently in Nicaragua. Other women who head national governments include Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain and Eugenia Charles in Dominica. In some contexts,

having a woman as the head of government is a powerful symbol that can advance the emancipation of women at other levels.

Women in Positions of Influence

In addition to electoral office, other positions provide women with the possibility of exercising power that, while less official, is nonetheless political in nature and capable of influencing the future of society. Examples include high-level positions in the judiciary, the Senate, and federal boards, agencies, commissions, Crown corporations, and the senior public service. Examining the representation of women in such government-appointed positions is another way of evaluating the real effort made by the party in power to increase women's representation.

Women in the Judiciary

The judiciary has enormous influence because it interprets the laws written by elected representatives according to the values of a society. Madam Justice Bertha Wilson of the Supreme Court of Canada has stated her firm conviction that increasing the number of female judges will make a difference in Canada's judicial system.[38] Are women well represented in such positions of influence?

As of January 1990, the Supreme Court of Canada had nine justices, three of whom were women, and 850 federally-appointed court judges, 73 of whom were women, which is less than 10%.[39] Table 10 presents statistics for provincial/territorial courts.

In the coming years, we **should** be able to anticipate a substantial increase in the number of women judges. The growing number of women graduates of law faculties in recent years has led to a greater number of women lawyers. As a result, recruiting a sufficient number of qualified women candidates will not be a problem; commitment to gender parity will be the determining factor. Moreover, Ontario has just introduced a system in which new judges are evaluated and selected solely on the basis of competence, without regard to political party contacts. Such a system should be given serious consideration in the other provinces/territories.

Table 10: Number and Percentage of Women Judges in Provincial/Territorial Courts, by Province and Territory, 1990

Province/Territory	Total number of judges* (M + W)	Number of women judges	% of women
British Columbia	118	12	10.1
Alberta	109	7	6.4
Saskatchewan	50	2	4.0
Manitoba	39	4	10.2
Ontario	272	18	6.6
Quebec	279	21	7.5
Nova Scotia	27	3	11.1
New Brunswick	26	2	7.6
Prince Edward Island	26	1	3.8
Newfoundland	N/A	0	0.0
Yukon	N/A	0	0.0
Northwest Territories	5	1	20.0

Source: Departments of Justice (or equivalents) of the provinces and territories, 1990.
Notes: * Including supernumerary judges.
Because of the great variation in total number of judges, the categories of courts are not the same for all provinces.
N/A = figures not available.

Women Appointed to Federal Boards, Agencies, Commissions, Crown Corporations, and the Senior Federal Public Service

The Government of Canada is both an extremely complex entity and the largest employer in Canada. What position do women occupy on the many boards, agencies, commissions, Crown corporations, and at senior management levels in federal departments? It is important to examine this question for two reasons. First, these structures exert a varying but undeniable degree of influence on the decision-making process and the way the interests of the Canadian government are managed. Second, being in a position with a certain symbolic social importance makes it possible to be a member of certain networks and become better known, a considerable advantage for anyone wishing to embark upon a political career. The federal government should set an example for Canadian society by appointing significant numbers of women to positions of power.

The Appointments Secretariat in the Prime Minister's Office oversees appointments to federal boards, agencies, commissions, and Crown corporations; final decisions are made by the Cabinet. Likewise, the Cabinet is responsible for the appointments of heads of posts (ambassadors, high commissioners, heads of delegations) and senior public service appointments (deputy ministers).

Appointments to senior management positions below the rank of deputy minister (senior managers to assistant deputy ministers) are carried out by the Public Service Commission.

Table 11, representing Order-in-Council appointments to full-time positions, shows that as of January 1, 1990, 181 (29%) of 625 positions were held by women, while in 1986, women held 67 (16%) of 417 positions.

Table 11: Persons Occupying Full-time Order-in-Council Appointments to Federal Boards, Agencies, Commissions, and Crown Corporations, by Sex, 1986 and 1990

	1986				1990			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Boards, agencies, commissions, Crown corporations	299	83.3	60	16.7	388	69.5	170	30.5
Ministerial departments	51	87.9	7	12.1	56	83.5	11	16.5
Total	**350**	**83.9**	**67**	**16.1**	**444**	**71.0**	**181**	**29.0**

Source: Office of the Privy Council, Ottawa, 1990.

When full- and part-time appointments to federal boards, agencies, commissions, and Crown corporations are taken into account, the overall rate of change is slower (Table 12).

Table 12: Women Occupying Full- and Part-time Order-in-Council Appointments to Federal Boards, Agencies, Commissions, and Crown Corporations, 1986-1989

Year	Total appointments	Women appointed	% of women
1986	1,995	502	25.2
1987	2,211	574	26.0
1988	2,464	720	29.2
1989	2,494	743	29.8

Source: Privy Council Office, Ottawa, 1989.

However, the distribution of women amongst these federal boards, agencies, commissions, and Crown corporations is uneven, as Table 13 illustrates.

Table 13: Representation of Women and Men on Selected Federal Boards, Agencies, Commissions, and Crown Corporations, 1990

Organization	Number of women	Number of men	Vacancies	% of women*
Bank of Canada	4	7	1	36.3
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation	4	9	2	30.7
Canadian Dairy Commission	0	3	0	0.0
Canadian International Trade Tribunal	2	6	0	25.0
Canadian Pension Commission	5	19	0	20.8
Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission	4	11	0	26.6
Canadian Wheat Board	1	4	0	20.0
Farm Credit Corporation	2	4	1	33.3
Medical Research Council	4	16	1	20.0
National Energy Board	3	8	0	27.2
National Farm Products Marketing Council	1	2	0	33.3
Petro-Canada	3	12	0	20.0
Public Service Staff Relations Board	2	8	1	20.0
Standards Council	9	44	4	16.9

Source: Telephone survey, October 1990.
Note: * The percentages in this column do not include vacancies.

The percentage of women appointed to and within the management category of the federal public service increased between 1984 and 1989 (Table 14). In 1984, 12% of the appointments went to women; in 1989, women were appointed to 19.7% of positions at this level.

Table 14: Percentage of Appointments to and Within the Management Category, Public Service, by Sex and Year, 1984-1989

Year	% appointments Men	% appointments Women
1984	88.0	12.0
1985	87.0	13.0
1986	85.1	14.9
1987	81.6	18.4
1988	82.4	17.6
1989	80.3	19.7

Source: Public Service Commission, Policy, Monitoring and Information Directorate, Analysis and Data Services Division, 1990.

Women in the Senate

Women had to wage a legal battle of epic proportions in the early 20th century in order to have access to the Canadian Senate. According to the *Constitution Act, 1867*, any qualified person could be appointed to the Senate; however, the controversy arose over whether women were considered "persons". In 1927, five Alberta women asked the Supreme Court of Canada for an official interpretation of the word "person". The Court handed down its decision: women were not "persons". Until 1949, a British court, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, was Canada's final court of appeal. In 1929, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council struck down the Supreme Court of Canada's decision; women had officially become persons.[40] In 1930, Cairine Wilson became the first woman named to the Senate, representing Ontario.

In 1970, the Senate consisted of four women and 98 men; in 1981, there were nine women senators and 95 men. In 1990, women are members of the Senate in similar proportion to their representation in the House of Commons. Table 15 shows that four provinces/territories of Canada have no woman representing them in the Senate; New Brunswick, with three women senators out of ten positions, has the highest percentage (30%).

Women in Political Parties

In recent years, the major federal parties have shown a new awareness regarding the issue of women's representation at leadership conventions. But so far, no party has adopted any measures to reserve a certain quota of ridings where it is thought a female candidate could be successful (known as winnable ridings). Judging by the rate of increase in women's representation in federal politics, equality of the sexes is unlikely in the short term unless corrective measures are implemented. Throughout the world, only women in Scandinavian countries have reached a level of national representation that comes close to parity. These countries have quotas reserving a certain number of seats for women in parliamentary systems operating on the principle of proportional representation.[41] In Canada, before women's caucuses in political parties were established at the federal and provincial/territorial levels, the parties had no specific objectives in terms of encouraging female candidates.[42] In the 1970s, the long-established women's caucuses, energized by the women's liberation movement, became places where women finally "took power".

Table 15: Women's Representation in the Senate of Canada, 1990

Province/Territory	Total number of positions	Number of women	% of women
British Columbia	6	1	16.6
Alberta	6	1	16.6
Saskatchewan	6	0	0.0
Manitoba	6	1	16.6
Ontario	24	3	12.5
Quebec	24	2	8.3
Nova Scotia	10	0	0.0
New Brunswick	10	3	30.0
Prince Edward Island	4	1	25.0
Newfoundland	6	1	16.6
Yukon	1	0	0.0
Northwest Territories	1	0	0.0
Subtotal	**104**	**13**	**12.5**
Region*			
Atlantic	2	0	0.0
Quebec	2	1	50.0
Ontario	2	0	0.0
Western	2	1	50.0
Subtotal	**8**	**2**	**25.0**
Total	**112**	**15**	**13.4**

Source: Information Office of the Senate of Canada, October 1990.
Note: * These eight senators were appointed in September 1990.

Each of the three major federal parties in Canada has created a special fund to support female candidates.[43] Such an initiative shows an awareness of the under-representation of women in decision-making positions within the political parties, a fact which can no longer be denied. Nevertheless, the sums allocated are very minimal in comparison with the expenditures anticipated. Women are well represented among the membership and lower ranks of the political parties. But the higher the rank, the fewer the women, and this can be attributed to several factors: socialization, unequal responsibility for housework and childrearing, failure to conform to the socio-economic model favoured by political parties, weak networks within the parties, and the exclusion of informal power networks from the structure.[44] Thus, it is important for political parties to support any initiatives taken and to be receptive to the expectations and proposals put forth by women active within the party. Equally important is the political will and commitment of all party members to make the necessary changes, in both party structure and personal attitudes, that will facilitate women's increased representation.

The Arrival of Women in Canadian Politics: A Long Process

While the data presented earlier show an increase in the number of women elected during the 1980s, another fact rapidly becomes obvious: the number of female elected representatives, except for the municipal councils of some major Canadian cities, is still far below the 50% mark. Today, however, we have a better understanding of the factors behind this under-representation.

First, political institutions, which were set up at a time when women were not considered citizens, were not modified to integrate the female viewpoint when women acquired the right to hold office. Political parties are built on principles handed down from political institutions, and women had to infiltrate these parties before changing their structure. Even now, these parties still seem to be largely controlled by "old boys' networks".

Second, certain personal characteristics are required for traditional political life. When the time comes to approach potential candidates, criteria such as money, prestige, influence, education, and success still come into play. Women fall behind in this respect because they are a very small part of the largely male elite. Studies have shown that women running for office tend to base their qualifications not on their professional situation but rather on many years of involvement in volunteer groups or political parties.[45]

Finally, the lifestyle demands of political life, especially at the federal or provincial/territorial level, often are incompatible with devoting much time to one's personal life. Work in political institutions usually involves long hours and unpredictable schedules, which conflict with family responsibilities.[46] As well, the specific socialization of women[47] does little to prepare them for holding a position of political power.

These obstacles may be offset in part by the great progress made in recent years towards the legal, social, and economic equality of women. Will the battles won on this front have an impact on the political representation of women?

Canadian Egalitarian Measures

As mentioned earlier, women's socio-economic characteristics put them at a disadvantage with regard to political recruitment. Is there a connection between the emergence of a female political elite and the legal, social, and economic changes in the status of women? It appears that the narrowing of the gap between the sexes in terms of income, employment, education, and formal equality is a necessary condition (but not the only condition) if more women are to become involved in politics.

In 1957, Canada signed the United Nations *Convention on the Political Rights of Women*, which guaranteed women the right to vote, run for election, and hold public office. The federal government made sexual discrimination illegal with the 1977 *Human Rights Act*, and in 1981, it signed the United Nations *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. When section 15 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* came into force in 1985, the government recognized sexual equality as a basic principle and acknowledged that affirmative action could be taken to correct the effects of centuries of open discrimination against women. However, a statement of formal rights on paper is not enough to bring about substantive equality.

Today, there are more women in the paid labour force, including fields traditionally associated with political careers, such as law, administration, and journalism. Studies have shown that female politicians currently in office have not necessarily followed the same path as their male colleagues. Although many women have come to politics after many years of working for the party,[48] the younger women in politics have a career history that is more similar to that of their male counterparts. In fact, there may be a generation gap between the younger and the older women with respect to background.[49]

Large discrepancies between women and men still exist in the legal, political, economic, and social spheres. In 1971, women employed full-time, full-year earned 59.7% of what men did.[50] In 1987, this figure increased slightly to 65.9% and women with university degrees earned only 69.6% of the average income of male counterparts.[51] The persistence of a large economic gender gap cannot be denied, nor can its indirect consequences on women's representation in politics. Women cannot be expected to bear the cost of a political career or have access to networks to finance their campaigns as long as most of them continue to belong to the poorest economic segments of Canadian society. Educating women to participate in the political system will be one means of overcoming these structural obstacles, but until women achieve the power needed to impose new rules and standards, they must continue to learn to operate within the male political system.

Women as Voters in Canada: Another Gender Gap?

If there is one weapon in the political arsenal of women in Canada that has not yet been used to its full potential, it is the vote; this is especially important because differences between male and female voting tendencies seem to exist. In the United States, studies by B. Abzug[52] and E. Klein[53] confirm the existence of a large gap between women's and men's vote: specifically, men lean toward right-wing political parties while women are more sympathetic to parties whose platforms contain measures to promote the emancipation of women. Although no conclusive Canadian data on the gender gap are available,[54] the parties do court the female electorate, as they did by granting women the vote. The nationally televised 1984

debate on women was an encouraging sign that the three major federal political parties were becoming more receptive to women's demands. However, there was a setback in 1988 when women's groups were unsuccessful in their efforts to have another televised debate, solely on women's issues, prior to the election.

Women have not yet completely succeeded in forming a distinct force to lobby politicians for their interests. National feminist groups are working in this direction and are trying to get women more involved. However, like men, women as a group are divided along a multitude of social, racial/cultural, economic, and political lines. Thus far, the major feminist groups have avoided giving public support to any one political party during election campaigns, both to preserve their neutrality and because they represent women among whom there is not necessarily any consensus on which political party to support. However, it would be possible to develop a strategy involving women's groups, female candidates, and the female population as a whole. If women were to start using their vote to defend their interests as women, change could occur more rapidly. On the other hand, it would be difficult to make female political candidates more accountable to women's groups. The candidates would probably not benefit much in the short term, since they are obliged to keep within party lines, where they are already a minority. Moreover, they are voted in by a mixed electorate of men and women.

The Role of Feminist Groups in the Promotion of Women in Politics

Although the number of women holding political positions in Canada grew relatively slowly during the 1980s, it did increase and more women were elected in that decade than during the 60 years since the first group of women in Canada got the right to vote. Not all obstacles were eliminated, but a basic trend was evident throughout the 1980s, particularly during the last four years of the decade: namely, the creation of specific groups or activities designed to promote and increase active participation by women in all aspects of politics.

The 1980s saw the beginning of action more specifically oriented towards increasing the representation of women in politics and educating women in all forms of political participation. In fact, this fit in with a general trend toward more specialized action taken by women's groups. Although, as mentioned earlier, political parties took steps to promote women's participation, feminist groups (both new and old) began to organize more specific activities, such as workshops, seminars, and conferences. They also published helpful guides and prepared other resource materials for would-be candidates and appointees. The various groups did not necessarily mount any planned cooperative effort, but some of these groups simultaneously reached the conclusion that political power is the nerve centre of all social change. They realized the necessity of appropriating this power and finding ways to overcome the series of obstacles identified as being responsible for the political under-representation of women.

The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), a national umbrella organization of more than 500 women's groups, has carried out a variety of activities designed to promote women's political participation. During the 1988 federal election, NAC conducted an advertising campaign, distributed buttons, and encouraged all women in Canada to use their vote. Each member received an election kit which contained a list of questions to ask the political candidates, focusing on four subjects: free trade, violence against women, abortion, and child-care centres. A questionnaire was sent to the three major federal parties and the responses received were made public through the media.

Other groups have been more directly involved in promoting women in politics. In 1984, a group of women set up the "Committee for '94", whose objective is gender parity in the House of Commons by 1994. Based in Ontario, the group has organized a variety of activities to promote the visibility of women in politics, including a 1985 gala tribute to Ellen Fairclough, Canada's first woman cabinet minister. In 1986, the group co-organized the Ryerson Conference in Toronto on "Women in Politics" (from which a series of films and a paper were produced by TV Ontario). In 1988, the group held a press conference to denounce the lack of women's representation in Parliament. On May 7, 1990, the Committee for '94 released its brief on public funding, *Let Women Play Too!*, to the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing. The brief called for a system of public financing for candidates in elections, to level the playing field for women, ethnic and racial minorities, and poor people. The group also is organizing a women's summit addressing women's political involvement in the 1990s, to be held in December 1990. Finally, the group has created an internship program enabling women to familiarize themselves with government structures, and it also lobbies for more appointments of women to senior government positions.

"Canadian Women for Political Representation", based in Ottawa, was created in 1986 to prepare women for the political arena. The group does not give actual support to the candidates; rather, it aims to educate and motivate women to take political action of all types. The group held a forum in May 1988 and hopes to continue this work.

An organization called "The 52% Solution" was created in Newfoundland in 1986. Its purpose is to foster equality and peace by offering a feminist analysis of political problems and their possible solutions. The group is structured informally and is modeled after the Icelandic Women's Alliance in its operations. In recent years the group has held workshops in several different locations in the province. During elections, the group often sponsors female candidates who support and promote women's concerns.

In Quebec, three women's groups have taken specific action to encourage women's political participation: AFÉAS, FFQ, and FRAPPE. The Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale (AFÉAS), "convinced that the advancement of women in politics will lead to their advancement in society",[55] organized an event called "Women and Political Power" in 1985. During the two-day workshop, participants and experts formerly active in various areas of politics, including Monique Bégin and Lucie Pépin, discussed problems associated with political

participation. AFÉAS took advantage of this opportunity to launch *Comment prendre sa place en politique*, a brief step-by-step guide to running for municipal, provincial/territorial, or federal office. A survey conducted during the workshop showed that 33% of the women present wanted to enter politics, while 15% wanted to work for a candidate's election campaign.[56] AFÉAS followed up on this survey by holding a series of information sessions across Quebec on the subject of women and political power. Local political clubs were also created to provide the necessary support and information to women interested in running for office.

The Fédération des femmes du Québec (FFQ) has also undertaken specific measures to increase women's political representation. The FFQ, which unites more than 100 women's groups as well as individual members, represents over 100,000 women. In 1987, the FFQ held a symposium on the topic "Women and Political Power: Do They Mix?" and debated the strategies feminists should adopt vis-à-vis political power. The participants discussed issues surrounding their relationship to the political system, such as whether to support all female candidates, or to support only those who promise to defend the same causes as the FFQ and who try to establish links between women's groups and female politicians. On this occasion, the FFQ reaffirmed itself as a politically non-aligned lobby group.[57] A number of women politicians had been invited to the symposium, and it provided an opportunity to formulate possible strategies for collective political action as well as guidelines for individual political action. A declaration of principle was adopted, stating that the FFQ supported the objective of electing more women to office, but that it would only encourage those women, regardless of party affiliation, who stood for ideals compatible with those of the FFQ.[58] Several possible initiatives were cited, including the creation of support groups for candidates and the development of ties between the FFQ and female incumbents. However, no specific organizations were created as a result of this symposium.

During the 1988 federal election campaign, the FFQ organized a meeting with female candidates of the Progressive Conservative, Liberal, and New Democratic parties in the Montreal area. During the course of the meeting, it became clear that political women find it difficult to deviate from their party line and show solidarity with women's groups. In addition, some women stated that it was not very profitable, politically speaking, for a female candidate to associate with feminist groups. Individuals also reproached feminist groups for being more critical of female politicians (in comparison to male politicians) and having overly high expectations without offering any support to these women, who often find themselves isolated within their own political parties.

In 1985, a group called "Femmes regroupées pour l'accès au pouvoir politique et économique" (FRAPPE) was created to help women penetrate the bastions of political and economic power by supporting female candidates, providing training, and organizing dinner talks with political personalities as guests. FRAPPE makes a particular point of networking, which it claims is the key to spheres of influence. To maximize its influence, FRAPPE has maintained a non-partisan stance. Its political support is limited to the period prior to nominating conventions, and it does not get involved once the candidates have been chosen. FRAPPE's goal is to ensure that the greatest possible number of nominations are won by women, regardless of their

political allegiance. All its cards are played, therefore, before the convention. It is difficult to assess the impact of FRAPPE's support, but such an initiative displays a definite concern with increasing the number of women in positions of power. Moreover, much of the influence and impact of FRAPPE can be attributed to the prestige of its Board of Directors — women and men who wield considerable power in the world of business and politics. In June 1990, the group organized a world summit on the topic of women and the many dimensions of power, with about 100 guests from various countries. The general objective was to decide on collective actions on a world scale to enable women to appropriate economic, social, and political power.

At the end of April 1990, a coalition of 340 women's groups in Quebec organized an event called "Les 50 heures du féminisme" to commemorate the 50th anniversary of women's right to vote in the province of Quebec. "Femmes en tête", the organizing committee, co-ordinated hundreds of activities, many of which focused on the theme of feminism and political power. The group also published *De travail et d'espoir: des groupes de femmes racontent le féminisme*, a summary of the work undertaken by Quebec women's groups between 1940 and 1990.

Several groups across the country have taken the name "Winning Women" and have set up informal networks in Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, and Saskatchewan. They have a common goal: to increase political participation and representation of appointed or elected women at all levels of government. The groups operate autonomously and none have full-time offices. The "grassroots" initiative for this network can be attributed to women working in the Junior Leagues; local Councils of Women; political science, continuing studies, and women's studies departments of universities; and various women's groups.

In March 1986, the Winnipeg group held a forum on "Women in Politics" which proved a valuable model for many of the cross-Canada forums which have followed. In May 1989, prior to the fall election, a second forum, "Winning Women — Think Globally, Act Locally", focused on local issues. The group published 10,000 copies of *Before You Vote, Ask Your Candidate*. After the election, the group held a municipal forum at city hall and the mayor declared a "Winning Women Day". The group also prepared a report in which the group's success was judged by whether the number of women in political positions had increased. A third conference, "Winning Women III — Power and Ethics", will be held in January 1991 to celebrate the 75th anniversary of women getting the vote in Manitoba. A book for women seeking political appointments is underway.

The British Columbia group was formed in 1987. In November of that year, 400 people attended its first event, a political skills forum in Vancouver. The group has held several workshops and events, produced a 28-minute video called *Run to Win!*, and published a booklet, *How to Get That Appointment*, which encourages women to seek appointed positions in the 13 municipalities of the Greater Vancouver Regional District. In June 1990, a political skills forum was held in Victoria. The group hopes to go on the road with its new public awareness project, "Consider A Woman", encouraging the population to consider women as candidates and appointees at all

levels. The group is setting up a data bank of candidates and is planning a major conference in Vancouver for 1992.

The Calgary Winning Women group held a political skills forum in April 1989, attended by 300 people. In September 1990, the group published *The Appointment Book* and sponsored a workshop which focused on all levels of government: municipal, provincial, and federal. Further workshops are planned; these include a workshop on political lobbying scheduled for the spring of 1991.

The Saskatchewan group presented a series of three, one-day seminars on "Women in Politics". The October 1989 seminar focused on how women can get appointed to boards and commissions, as well as how to run a campaign and how to get elected. The April 1990 seminar looked at how women can become involved in politics and reviewed the political progress women have made since the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, which tabled its report in 1970. The third seminar, held in October 1990, focused on an essential core list of topics for female candidates concerned with improving the status of women in Canada.

The Nova Scotia Winning Women group is currently planning its first political skills forum to be held in April 1991 at Mount Saint Vincent University in Halifax.

In order to promote a dialogue among the many Canadian organizations working to increase women's political participation, Secretary of State, Women's Programs, asked a Winning Women member to organize a national meeting in Ottawa. The May 1988 meeting brought together representatives from most of the Canadian organizations (including FRAPPE, Committee for '94, AFÉAS, Winning Women) as well as from the three federal political parties. A report of that meeting, and a list of upcoming events across Canada, was produced in 1989 as a newsletter, *Women and Politics Across Canada*.

Conclusion

The Many Facets of Women's Political Activity in Canada

During the 1980s, women's political representation made definite advances in Canada; the results are most evident in the municipal councils of major cities. Similarly, women's groups in Canada have made real efforts and many initiatives have been undertaken to motivate women to political action.

Yet, the number of women politicians is still low at the federal and provincial/territorial levels, as well as in the smaller municipalities. Is this lack of representation an inescapable characteristic of women's political culture? Although this situation is partly the result of many generations of women's social exclusion, social and economic equality between men and women will not be sufficient to close the gap in the political sphere.

A number of studies[59] show that women now active in politics are critical of the culture underlying political life, its exclusion of personal life, and the sterility of party politics in the Canadian parliamentary system, where loyalty to the party line takes precedence over other types of solidarity. This milieu makes it very difficult for female politicians to defend women's interests with any forcefulness. A "critical mass" strategy seems to be the most justifiable solution in the short term. A series of interviews with female politicians in Quebec[60] has shown that, although few in number, they tend to think of themselves as representatives of women in general when they take the floor. These women say this identification has been forged out of experiences in their personal and family lives as well as their advocacy work. It is in this sense that a woman's political identity can grow out of her personal life ("the personal is the political").

In any case, it is very difficult for women to forget that they are outsiders to politics. Mariette Sineau, after a series of interviews with female politicians in France, remarked that they were constantly being reminded by their male colleagues as well as by the media that they were "different" in the world of politics.[61] She also noted that these women seemed to feel that they did not have the same perception of political rules or the same way of dealing with problems as their male colleagues. In Quebec, too, most female politicians have acknowledged differences between themselves and their male colleagues. They claim to be more humanistic in their vision of political power and more aware of moral standards, more pragmatic, and more concerned for public welfare because they are more in touch with everyday life. Some have gone so far as to hypothesize that women could change the nature of power if they were numerous enough and were able to remain true to their principles.[62] Another study on women elected to the Quebec National Assembly between 1976 and 1981 has shown that, in their parliamentary speeches, half these women put forth ideas that were feminist and egalitarian in nature.[63] Other studies in the United States have shown that female politicians were much more likely to support proposals such as the *Equal Rights Amendment*.[64]

However, will the special political sensitivity of women remain intact as more and more of them enter politics? We are still witnessing the first generations of female elected representatives, whose pre-political lives did not bear much resemblance to the conventional male experience. For many women in politics, the awareness of being different springs from this wealth of experience — a sentiment that is further reinforced because women are a very small minority in this sphere. To what extent will this authenticity survive the passage of time throughout future generations of female politicians? Many of the women now active in politics experienced the changes brought about by the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. These women were not born feminists: they became feminists, often after many years of embracing traditional values. Do feminist values explain why women's approach to politics is so different from that of men? Possibly, future generations of female politicians will benefit from a critical mass of women. Perhaps they will manage to change the rules of the game if they choose not to buy into male political traditions.

But will women be able to change politics before politics changes them? Political institutions have a very strong culture,[65] and anyone who wishes to rise in the ranks must necessarily conform to some extent. A study on activism in political institutions and unions in Quebec,[66] which compared the differences in viewpoint between men and women, reveals a wider gap between lower-ranking men and women with few responsibilities than between men and women in executive level positions. However, the higher-ranking activists of both sexes had a greater awareness of the under-representation of women than those in the lower echelons. Indeed, unlike the corporate environment where men's behaviour and ideas are normative, men in unions and political institutions seem to have a greater awareness of the under-representation of women in positions of power.

Female politicians already identify themselves as women,[67] but a feminist identity is needed to establish real networks of women in politics. Female politicians should maintain special ties with women's groups, thereby assisting them to bring women's issues onto the political agenda. Such a relationship would allow women to defend their common interests in the political arena. Women will also bring to politics other approaches and viewpoints, because their everyday lives are still different from the lives of men. At this time, therefore, the strategic importance of women entering political life in larger numbers is undeniable and offers great possibilities for society as a whole.

Author's Comments on the 1990s and Proposals for the Future of Women in Politics

If women continue to advance in politics as they have in the past decade, ten years from now we may expect to find female majorities on the municipal councils of several large cities, while women will still be in the minority in provincial/territorial politics and constitute less than 20% of the Canadian Parliament. In unofficial halls of power such as boards, commissions, and courts, where appointments are made directly by the government, women may remain far from equal representation. It is possible that the proportions of women appointed to these institutions may stagnate at their current level, that is, at a point where they are neither conspicuous by their absence nor numerous enough to shake up the rules and cultures of these institutions. A study by Gladys Symons, a researcher at the École nationale d'administration publique in Montreal, showed the extent to which corporate culture is based on male homogeneity — on similarity of appearance, dress, behaviour, and mentality. The presence of a significant number of women could not help but break up this uniformity and shake the very foundations of the culture.[68]

Even though a greater number of young women today graduate from universities and obtain good jobs, this is not true for most women, any more than it is for most men (although the latter are better off). And women with family responsibilities will inevitably continue to experience a conflict between the demands of their personal lives and those of their jobs and social commitments. That conflict

may be resolved eventually with a new understanding between women and men, but that is unlikely in the short term.

For these reasons, new rules are needed in political institutions. The adoption of a system of proportional representation could promote the interests of a greater number of social groups, and in this context a women's political party would not be doomed to remain a symbolic gesture of protest. Proportional representation could mean a more representative democracy with more room for small parties. But such a system would not be without its problems: political instability caused by fragile coalitions, an electoral system even more complex than the current one, and abandonment of the political traditions that form the basis of Canadian political institutions, such as party discipline and responsible government. And what government would support a reform that would, in all likelihood, eventually force it to share — or even give up — its power? For these reasons, such a reform, though desirable in many respects, is not about to take place.

Another possibility would be a complete overhaul of our current electoral system. A new dimension, namely, representation of the sexes, could be added to the existing principle of geographical representation (one elected representative per geographical riding). Each riding could elect one man and one woman.[69] Quotas would also seem to be a feasible suggestion, although they would inevitably elicit the disapproval of male politicians who might find themselves forced to give up their seat for a woman. For example, if 40% of the 295 ridings (118) were reserved for women in the next federal election, 78 male representatives would not be able to run for re-election, assuming that women retain the 40 seats they now hold. For a smoother transition, the 40% could be implemented in phases over two or three elections. Those who argue against quotas say that competence should be the only criterion and that women who obtained their position by means of a quota would lack credibility and would be marginalized within their groups. But a marginal group consisting of 40% is nearly a majority. Furthermore, the issue of competence was never raised in connection with men.

Political parties must adopt specific numerical targets for female candidates and representatives. To do this, they must make special efforts to solicit potential candidates — including racial and ethnic minorities, persons with disabilities, and Aboriginal people — and offer them good support. Women interested in being candidates could also network among themselves to avoid feeling isolated and to obtain the moral support and solidarity that may be lacking. And since many women interested in running for office cannot do so for lack of money, total public funding of all election campaigns would ensure a greater measure of equity and might well result in significantly more female candidates.

Women's groups have already begun a process of education and organization among women. Such initiatives must be pursued in the years to come. Their efforts could even be given a formal framework: for example, they could be integrated into the college or university curriculum of adult or community education programs. Today most of these activities rely on volunteer work, which often results in burn-out and financial problems. For this reason, such programs would benefit from institutional support; as well, they would reach more teenagers and young women

if they were offered through teaching institutions. Following the model of the Center for Political Leadership in the United States, universities could offer certificates and introductory training sessions in political work.

Women's groups are fighting battles which will be decided mainly on the political front. For many groups, recognition of this fact resulted in efforts to promote the involvement of women in politics. However, this presents a significant problem for elected female representatives: they must reconcile their party loyalty with their solidarity towards women's groups. This situation could soon become critical for the too-few women now in office. It might be wise to develop new ties between female politicians and women's groups in order to give the politicians access to a network of support and information while offering the groups an effective channel for making their voices heard by government. It also might be possible to create a non-partisan national association that would unite female politicians and women interested in working in politics. Such a group could increase the visibility of women in office and encourage other women to become involved. Another possible strategy would be for representatives of women's groups to decide collectively to run for office at the same time; such a joint action would provide candidates with a great deal of support. But as long as the number of women politicians remains low, they must not be expected to bear the entire weight of the expectations and demands of women's groups.

Women, individually and collectively, must continue to act on the political front, get involved in their communities, educate themselves about power, and step forward to take their rightful place as political representatives in Canada.

Notes

1. Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, *Brief to the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing* (Ottawa: June 1990), p. 2; Kathleen Jamieson, *Indian Women and the Law in Canada: Citizens Minus* (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1978), p. 47.
2. S. Paquerot, *Femmes et Pouvoir* (Quebec: Conseil du statut de la femme, 1983), pp. 59-60.
3. This is the contention of Gloria Bonder, for whom politics in the traditional sense is patriarchal. Bonder asks two questions about the relation of women to politics. Is there a specifically feminine way of thinking about and taking part in politics? Have women over the course of history developed a type of political thinking that is different from men's? G. Bonder, "L'étude de la politique du point de vue des femmes", *Revue internationale des sciences sociales*, vol. 35, no. 4 (1983), p. 624.
4. Norway came closest, however, under the government of Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, defeated in 1989.
5. This is the thesis defended by R. B. Mandel, who examined the role of women involved in politics in the U.S. system and maintains: "Indeed, women are making a difference. Early indications from the recent increases in women's political participation do suggest that a change in the sexual composition of the public world will bring with it changes in the public agenda." R.B. Mandel, *In the Running: the New Woman Candidate* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983), p. 25.
6. Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, *Women's Involvement in Political Life: A Pilot Study* (Ottawa: 1986) (see annotated bibliography).
7. Writings on this question are abundant; several scientific studies by feminists have explored the subject in depth. For an English Canadian overview, see S. Bashevkin's *Toeing the Lines: Women and Party Politics in English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985). For a more specific study of the Quebec context, see A.-M. Gingras, C. Maillé, and É. Tardy, *Sexes et militantisme* (Montreal: Éditions CIDIHCA, 1989), and the three documents edited by É. Tardy, *Militer dans un parti municipal: Les différences entre les hommes et les femmes au R.C.M., au R.P. de Québec et à l'Action civique LaSalle; Militer dans un parti provincial: Les différences entre les hommes et les femmes au P.L.Q. et au P.Q.*; et *Militer dans son syndicat: Les différences entre les hommes et les femmes* (Montreal: Centre de recherche féministe, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1988). For an overview of the obstacles that women encounter in politics, see Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, *Women in Politics: Becoming Full Partners in the Political Process* (Ottawa: 1987), and Lucie Desrochers, *L'accès des femmes au pouvoir politique: où en sont-elles?* (Quebec: Conseil du statut de la femme, Gouvernement du Québec, 1988).
8. On this point, see V. Sapiro, "Political Connections, Gender, and the Meanings of Politics", in Lucille Beaudry, Chantal Maillé, and Laurence Olivier, *Actes du colloque de la Société québécoise de science politique* (Montreal: Éditions de l'ACFAS [Association canadienne française pour l'avancement des sciences], 1990).
9. See A.-M. Gingras et al., *Sexes et militantisme, supra*, note 7.
10. "Le sexe des chefs politiques laisse les Canadiens indifférents", *La Presse*, February 7, 1989, p. B-1.

11. On the federal level, candidates who receive at least 15% of the vote are reimbursed up to 50% of their allowable expenses. The registered political parties also are reimbursed for election expenses. A similar system of reimbursing election expenses has been set up by several provinces: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan.

12. For party leadership conventions, ceilings are set for each political party but are not regulated.

13. In 1980, the CACSW brought out its *Shocking Pink Paper*, a concise, pocket-sized guide for women voters in Canada, which presented a series of questions that would enable women to evaluate candidates, both male and female, on important women's issues. The Council published similar guides for the 1984 and 1988 federal elections.

    In 1983, the CACSW published *Play from Strength: A Canadian Woman's Guide to Initiating Political Action* [out of print], written by Penney Kome. This booklet suggested concrete ways to encourage women's participation at all levels of the political process.

    In 1987, the CACSW published *Women in Politics: Becoming Full Partners in the Political Process* [out of print], a background paper presenting an analysis of the changes in the participation of women at all levels of Canadian political life, and an analysis of the obstacles encountered by women along the path to political power.

    In 1988, the Council organized a symposium in Ottawa on "Women and Power", focusing mainly on political power; participants included women from Canada and abroad who were involved in politics.

    In 1989, the CACSW published Penney Kome's *Every Voice Counts: A Guide to Personal and Political Action*, the updated and revised form of the 1983 guide *Play from Strength*.

    In 1990, the Council presented its *Brief to the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing*.

14. CACSW, *Women in Politics*, *supra*, note 7, p. 3.

15. Elections Canada, 1990.

16. *Ibid.*, 1989.

17. *Ibid.*, 1990.

18. Several provinces/territories do not keep any statistics on the percentages of men and women on municipal councils within their boundaries. For example, Alberta, Manitoba, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick compile lists of municipal representatives without indicating the person's sex. Moreover, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Ontario, and the Yukon are not equipped to provide this type of data. British Columbia has fragmentary data on the position of mayor but not on municipal council positions. Out of a total of 176 B.C. cities, towns, villages, city districts, and regional districts, 29 (16.4%) are headed by a woman. (Source: Minister of Municipal Affairs, Recreation, and Culture of British Columbia, Policy and Research Department.)

19. Saskatchewan, Urban Affairs, Northern Municipal Services, 1990.

20. Communications Directorate, Quebec Department of Municipal Affairs, 1990.

21. *Ibid.*, 1989.

22. Advisory Council on the Status of Women of the Northwest Territories, 1990.

23. See E. Haavio-Mannila et al., *Unfinished Democracy: Women in Nordic Politics* (Toronto: Pergamon Press, 1985), pp. 92-94. This work offers several explanations of this rural/urban disparity. Greater numbers of women councillors are found in more densely populated areas, which have more women and young people. The socio-economic structure of the area also seems to have an effect: women are

more strongly represented in areas in which the service and industrial sectors predominate than in areas in which agriculture, fishing, and forestry are the main occupations. The number of women councillors is also higher in areas with a higher standard of living. No such studies have been carried out in Canada.

24. Information for this section was taken from two sources: Jamieson, *Indian Women and the Law in Canada, supra*, note 1 and Frank Cassidy and Robert L. Bish, *Indian Government: Its Meaning in Practice* (Lantzville, B.C.: Institute for Research on Public Policy and Oolichan Books, 1989).

25. For a detailed view of the dates when women obtained the right to vote throughout the world, see Inter-parliamentary Union, *Distribution of seats between men and women in national assemblies* (Geneva: International Centre for Parliamentary Documentation, 1987).

26. "Pour la première fois, les femmes jordaniennes participent aux élections", *Le Devoir*, November 1, 1989, p. 4.

27. Women's Research and Education Institute, *The American Woman 1988-1989: a Status Report* (New York: Norton, 1988), p. 90.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

30. M. Sineau, *Des femmes en politique* (Paris: Economica, 1988), p. 2.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 3. The canton of Appenzell granted women the right to vote in 1989. The men of the canton had rejected the bill four times in the previous 17 years, voting by a show of hands in assemblies. "Men Give Women Right to Vote", *The Gazette*, May 1, 1989.

32. Sineau, *Des femmes en politique, supra*, note 30, p. 4.

33. The Icelandic Women's Alliance describes itself as a grassroots movement, not a traditional political party. It has a non-hierarchical structure and no leader; decisions are made by consensus. Jobs and duties are rotated within the movement as well as outwards, and special issues are dealt with in small groups or committees six or eight months at a time. Alternates are invited to take seats, and no woman sits longer than six to eight years at a time. See Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, *Symposium on Women and Power*, speech given by Kristin Halldorsdottir, March 14, 1988.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

35. Hege Skjeie, *The Feminization of Power: Norway's Political Experiment (1986-)* (Oslo: Institutt for Samfunns Forskning, 1988).

36. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

38. See B. Wilson, *Will Women Judges Make a Difference?*, speech given at Osgoode Hall Law School, York University, on February 8, 1990.

39. Judiciary Council, Ottawa, 1990.

40. Canada, Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, *Report* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970), p. 338.

41. See the analysis of women's political representation in Scandinavian countries in the section of this paper entitled "International Politics".

42. See the studies by Bashevkin, *Toeing the Lines, supra*, note 7, and Gingras et al., *Sexes et militantisme, supra*, note 7.

43. For additional information, see the list of resource groups.

44. The study by Gingras et al., *Sexes et militantisme, supra*, note 7, provides an in-depth analysis of the impact of these obstacles for women in different structures.

45. See J. Brodie, *Women and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1985) and C. Maillé, *Les Québécoises et la conquête du pouvoir politique: Dynamique de l'émergence d'une élite politique féminine au Québec* (Montreal: Éditions Saint-Martin, 1990).

46. On this question, see V. Sapiro, "Private Costs of Public Commitments or Public Costs of Private Commitments? Family Roles Versus Political Ambition", *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1982), pp. 265-279.

47. See the studies by Sapiro, "Political Connections, Gender, and the Meanings of Politics", *supra*, note 8 and "Private Costs of Public Commitments or Public Costs of Private Commitments?", *supra*, note 46, and Brodie, *Women and Politics in Canada*, *supra*, note 45.

48. See Maillé, *Les Québécoises et la conquête du pouvoir politique*, *supra*, note 45. Using a series of interviews with women in politics, the author showed that the older women were more apt to have gotten into politics through sustained commitment, while the younger women had a socio-economic profile compatible with the traditional requirements for recruitment into politics.

49. See Maillé, *Les Québécoises et la conquête du pouvoir politique*, *supra*, note 45.

50. Canada, Statistics Canada, *Women in Canada: A Statistical Report* (2nd ed.), cat. no. 89-503E (Ottawa: February 1990).

51. *Ibid.*

52. B. Abzug, *Gender Gap: Bella Abzug's Guide to Political Power for American Women* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984).

53. E. Klein, *Gender Politics: From Consciousness to Mass Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

54. The ideal way to gather this data would be to have separate ballot boxes for women and men on election day.

55. AFÉAS, *Actes du carrefour d'exploration "L'accès des femmes au pouvoir politique"* (Montreal: 1987), p. 1. This women's group has 27,000 members.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

57. C. Bonenfant and E. Tardy, "Résultats du congrès", *La petite presse, Bulletin de la FFQ*, vol. 6, no. 6 (September 1987), p. 1.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

59. Among others, see Gingras et al., *Sexes et militantisme*, *supra*, note 7, and Maillé, *Les Québécoises et la conquête du pouvoir politique*, *supra*, note 45.

60. See Maillé, *Les Québécoises et la conquête du pouvoir politique*, *supra*, note 45.

61. Sineau, *Des femmes en politique*, *supra*, note 30.

62. Maillé, *Les Québécoises et la conquête du pouvoir politique*, *supra*, note 45.

63. M. Tremblay, "Les élues du 31e Parlement du Québec et les mouvements féministes: de quelques affinités idéologiques", *Politique*, no. 16 (autumn 1989), pp. 87-109.

64. M. Johnson and S. Carroll, *Profile of Women Holding Office* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, Center for the American Woman and Politics, 1978).

65. See Gingras et al., *Sexes et militantisme*, *supra*, note 7.

66. *Ibid.*

67. See Maillé, *Les Québécoises et la conquête du pouvoir politique*, *supra*, note 45.

68. J. Morazain, "La révolution rose, le défi de la différence", *Le Devoir économique*, supplement to the newspaper *Le Devoir*, May 1990, pp. 27-36.

69. This suggestion was inspired by C. Boyle's text "Home Rule for Women: Power Sharing Between Men and Women", *Dalhousie Law Journal*, vol. 7, no. 3 (October 1983), pp. 790-809.

Appendix 1: The Female Constituency: A Seminar for Women Elected Public Officials

In 1988, the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women invited Kristin Halldorsdottir of the Icelandic Women's Alliance to speak at a national symposium on the subject of women and power. She concluded that:

> If we women want to survive within the present political system on our own merits, in order to change it or at least influence it, we need support from each other. We must believe in ourselves and other women and cooperate in order to change prevalent attitudes and prejudices and people's way of thinking . . .

In the preceding pages, different strategies used by women's groups to achieve this objective were presented. The following article, written by Anita Fellman and Rosemary Brown, describes one effort to provide a means by which the women's research community and women in elected office can support each other.

Rationale

Helping more women attain elected public office is not just a goal in itself. We also want women elected because they are more likely to be sensitive to the needs and views of other women. However, if they are to be effective advocates of policies and legislation that benefit their female constituents, female elected officials must remain informed about those constituents.

"The Female Constituency", a one-day seminar held February 6, 1988 at Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, was born of the joint frustration of a feminist scholar (Anita Clair Fellman) and of a former politician (Rosemary Brown). Fellman was frustrated that women politicians did not seem to know much more about other women than most male politicians. Brown's frustration stemmed from the fact that she and other female legislators lacked the time and research facilities to keep abreast of the body of knowledge being generated by feminist scholars. The seminar we planned was not a "how-to" session on getting into political life, nor was it designed primarily as an opportunity for women politicians to exchange anecdotes about their lives as elected officials. Instead, it was a crash course on that part of the electorate for whom these politicians felt a special responsibility: their female constituents.

As co-organizers of the seminar, our concerns dovetailed well. It was apparent to Fellman that the growing scholarship on women was not finding its way into the reading materials commonly used by female public officials; consequently, they were vulnerable to accepting the half-truths about women that are constantly circulating in the media. During her fourteen years in politics, Brown had been struck by the lack of up-to-date research material on women available to politicians, and had been appalled at the level of ignorance about women's lives, needs, and realities which was expressed by politicians on both sides of the House. Brown also was struck by the lack of contact between politicians — even female ones — and

women academics. She was adamant that this situation had to be corrected for women politicians if they were to discharge their responsibilities to their female constituents, and for women scholars if they were to gain a hearing among legislators for their research findings which had policy implications.

Realizing this joint need of women politicians and academics, we came up with the idea of a seminar on women-centred recent scholarship for all female elected officials in the province of British Columbia. We planned it for the conclusion of the year that Brown served as the Ruth Wynn Woodward Professor of Women's Studies at Simon Fraser University. We hoped that another positive outcome of such a seminar would be the opportunity given to women politicians to meet each other, not only to exchange ideas and experiences, but also to build supportive networks across political levels and parties.

Planning of the Seminar

About six months before the event, we began meeting with an advisory committee of female politicians, composed of representatives from each level of government (from band councils to the federal Parliament) as well as from each political party in British Columbia. This committee recommended narrowing the focus of the seminar to topics with policy implications. The politicians wanted information on issues that they confronted often in their jobs: paid work, education, and family life. They also suggested that the closing plenary session consist of a panel of female elected officials discussing the life of the female politician. In addition to suggesting a suitable seminar fee, the advisory committee was very helpful in acquiring some outside funding for the seminar.

Since the major objective of "The Female Constituency" was to alert female politicians to the existing body of information on women in British Columbia and to the identification of a community of feminist scholars, registration was limited to elected female officials only. Researching the invitation list resulted in the discovery of more than 500 women elected to and, at that time, serving in public office in the province.

Shortly before the seminar took place, we held one final meeting of the advisory committee. The women scholars and researchers scheduled to make the presentations in the seminar were also invited to this meeting. They were each asked to give a ten-minute version of what they intended to say during the seminar itself. This helped them fine-tune their talks, ensuring that they were offering the most useful information to their audience. The unaccustomed advance knowledge of their colleagues' remarks also gave the other seminar presenters an opportunity to modify their papers, thus minimizing overlap and reinforcing key points.

Design of the Seminar

The seminar was designed to reflect the dual goals of collegiality among women politicians and transmission of information about their female constituents. To cater to the specific interests of the various officeholders, we decided upon opening and closing plenary sessions with choices of more specialized sessions in between. Each participant attended four presentations of approximately one and a half hours each, separated by opportunities to socialize.

The morning plenary session, in which a social demographer and a professor of nursing offered a demographic and health profile of women in British Columbia, provided the essential data needed by every female official, regardless of office.

Following a coffee break, participants chose either a session on improving the lot of women in the paid work force or one on families in the province. In the first session, an employment counsellor assessed the opportunities for women in traditional women's jobs such as clerical work, while an economist identified some non-traditional fields that offer long-term work opportunities for women. The other session encouraged a broader definition of family than is currently used for policy purposes. An anthropologist explained how to adjust the concept of family to reflect the diverse forms of family life in the province. Using case studies, two teachers of social work surveyed the needs of lone-parent families and compared these to the resources available in British Columbia. Although these sessions steered clear of precise policy recommendations, their non-judgemental presentation about women's lives had political implications.

Participants also chose between two afternoon sessions. One, geared for the many school trustees in attendance, was on gender and the education system. A sociologist assessed whether girls and boys are given different public school educations, while a teacher's federation activist looked at women teachers' job prospects, job security, and likelihood of advancement in the B.C. school system. The concurrent session dealt with supporting families in which the sole parent or both parents worked in the paid labour force. An adult educator reviewed Swedish social policy regarding this type of family with an eye to uncovering Canadian assumptions and their policy implications. A child-care administrator and activist examined the quantity, quality, and problems of child care in British Columbia; possible solutions were discussed.

As suggested by the politicians on our advisory board, our closing plenary session dealt with the paid work and family lives of female elected public officials. Five politicians, ranging from a school trustee to two MPs, were invited to lead an open discussion on how they ensured time for their constituents, their families, and themselves while in public office. Their honest and probing examination of the stresses in their own lives led to an impassioned general discussion with their peers in the audience, and to a sense of shared experience among all the participants.

All sessions were audiotaped to make their content as accessible as possible; cassette copies were available at nominal charge by the end of that afternoon. Part of our intent was to familiarize the participants with the existing literature on

women in Canada so that, in future, they could search out needed information for themselves. Prior to the seminar, each presenter was urged to prepare a bibliography of relevant materials; these were duplicated and included in the packet of materials distributed to all seminar participants. Toward this same goal, we invited the two women's bookstores in Vancouver to set up book tables in the room we used for our coffee breaks. Book sales were brisk.

Budget

About $9,500 of the $12,000 budget was funded more or less equally, by grants from the Women's Secretariat in the B.C. Ministry of Advanced Education and Job Training and from the Ruth Wynn Woodward Endowed Chair on Women's Studies, Simon Fraser University. The remainder of the income came from participant registration fees. We kept registration fees to a modest $45 (which included lunch and seminar materials as well as a Friday night get-acquainted party) so as not to exclude any participants who could not get funding from their municipal council, school board, band office, or riding association.

Impact

The verbal comments and the written evaluations offered at the end of the seminar indicated a high degree of enthusiasm for the day. Participants were impressed by the quality of the presentations and delighted to have had the opportunity to meet so many other women elected public officials. Some of the politicians had been wary of the whole undertaking, fearful that the presentations would be so partisan that they would not be able to listen to them. To their surprise, they learned a lot, and did not feel that they had been harangued. Many suggested that such a seminar be offered again.

It is difficult after only one such seminar to assess the impact of "The Female Constituency". Any gains that occur in terms of increased, informed commitment to women's issues on the part of these politicians and of a ripple effect within the electoral bodies on which they serve will not be readily apparent for some time. We will never know for certain whether the seminar was a catalyst or a re-enforcer for those who have become more outspoken on behalf of women. There have been encouraging signs, however. One of the participants, initially quite skeptical, has since referred to herself as a feminist, and as of 1990, is serving as British Columbia's Minister Responsible for the Status of Women. Another participant in the seminar currently serves as the federal counterpart to that position. Other women have become more comfortable with identifying gender as a meaningful criterion, urging that "aldermen" become "councillors" and participating in the planning of public events for women.

Conclusions

The content and design of the seminar worked well, in part because of the input from the advisory committee. Choosing topics with policy implications, while stopping short of precise policy recommendations, made it possible for women politicians of all political parties to listen to the discussion.

We would urge others to offer periodic seminars such as this one, as well as similar conferences for medium- to high-level women bureaucrats in both governmental and non-governmental organizations. It is essential that those doing research on women convey their knowledge directly to those who are formulating and implementing policy affecting women.

Appendix 2: List of Resource Groups

Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale (AFÉAS) (Québec)

Founded in 1966, AFÉAS uses education and the promotion of awareness to improve the lives and status of Quebec women. The 550 regional sections of AFÉAS, whose membership totals 27,000, offer training sessions in political action. AFÉAS has published a paper (see annotated bibliography).

Office: AFÉAS, 5999 Marseille Street, Montreal, Quebec, H1N 1K6;
telephone: (514) 251-1636; Christine Marion, President

Fédération des femmes du Québec (FFQ) (Québec)

The FFQ, founded in 1966 on the 25th anniversary of Quebec women getting the vote, offers training sessions in political action and has produced a video and a teaching tool on municipal political action (see annotated bibliography).

Office: FFQ, 1265 Berri Street, Suite 820, Montreal, Quebec, H2L 4X4;
telephone: (514) 844-7049; Denise Crête, Secretary, Board of Directors

Femmes regroupées pour l'accès au pouvoir politique et économique (FRAPPE) (Québec)

FRAPPE supports women interested in running for office. It has established a bank of names for possible appointment to boards of directors, commissions, and other bodies; and it organized the world summit meeting in Montreal, June 3-8, 1990, on women and the many dimensions of power.

Office: FRAPPE, 822 Sherbrooke Street East, Suite 322, Montreal, Quebec, H2L 1K4;
telephone: (514) 521-0152; Danielle Debbas, President

The 52% Solution (Newfoundland)

Founded in 1986 to promote equality and peace, this group organizes workshops on topics related to politics.

Contact: Charmain Smyth, 6 Duckworth Street, Saint John's, Newfoundland,
A1C 1E4; telephone: (709) 579-4246

Canadian Women for Political Representation (Ontario)

This non-partisan group, founded in 1986, encourages women's participation in the political process and organizes networking opportunities for women engaged in politics.

Contact: Flaurie Stone, 5 Valiant Street, Nepean, Ontario, K2J 2N3;
telephone: (613) 825-8215

Committee for '94 (Ontario)

The objective of this group, founded in 1984, is to have 50% women members in the House of Commons by 1994. It also works to increase the appointment of women to government commissions, boards, and other bodies. In 1990, the Committee for '94 released a brief (see annotated bibliography). The group is organizing "Women Make a Difference", a summit meeting on women and politics in December 1990.

Contact: Wanda O'Hagan, 5 Maple Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, M4W 2T5; telephone: (416) 922-3509

National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) (national)

This national organization is a coalition of more than 500 Canadian women's groups. During the 1988 federal election, the Committee was particularly active in a project to inform women and encourage them to take part in the political process; see the special issue of the magazine *Feminist Action* (vol. 2, no. 8, November 1987) on women and the federal election.

Office: NAC, 344 Bloor Street West, Suite 505, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1W9; telephone: (416) 922-3246; Judy Rebick, President

Hamilton and District Council of Women (Ontario)

A non-partisan political lobby group, the District Council held a January 1988 conference which focused on involving women, from various backgrounds, in politics.

Contact: Jeanette Walkem, P.O. 983, Waterdown, Ontario, L0R 2H0; telephone: (416) 689-7203

Winning Women (Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan)

This women's non-partisan political network, which operates on an unofficial basis, is committed to increasing the representation of women in both elected and appointed positions. Each group individually and periodically organizes events and information sessions on women in politics. Most groups have resources available (see annotated bibliography).

Winning Women (Alberta): Anne Tingle, Suite 320, 100 Center Street North, Calgary, Alberta, T2T 7W6; telephone: (403) 245-5383;
Winning Women (British Columbia): Lynne Kent, Box 462, 810 West Broadway, Vancouver, British Columbia, V5Z 4C9; telephone: (604) 731-8359;
Winning Women (Manitoba): Betty Nordrum, 15 Beechwood Place, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R2H 1L2; telephone: (204) 237-0076;
Winning Women (Nova Scotia): Charlotte Cochran, 26 Oakhill Drive, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3P 2V2; telephone: (902) 443-2255;
Winning Women (Saskatchewan): Pat Beck, 600-333 25th Street East, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7K 0L4; telephone: (306) 934-1160.

Federal Political Parties' Support Funds for Women Candidates

Progressive Conservative Party, Ellen Fairclough Fund
Contact: PC office in Ottawa (613) 238-6111

New Democratic Party, Agnes MacPhail Fund
Contact: NDP office in Ottawa (613) 236-3613

Liberal Party of Canada, Judy LaMarsh Fund
Contact: Marian Maloney, c/o Liberal Party (613) 237-0740

Annotated Bibliography

Films and Videos

Fédération des femmes du Québec (FFQ). *Les femmes et la politique municipale*, Montréal: 1988, video (26 minutes), and *Cahier d'information et de travail sur la politique municipale*, booklet for workshop leader (52 pages), and booklet for participants (48 pages).

These educational tools are the components of a four-day workshop package. The resource materials are aimed at a very broad audience of women and are designed to demystify the role of elected representatives in municipal politics. The video is a humorous sketch showing an all-women municipal council debating an agenda in which the relationship between the day-to-day lives of women and their responsibilities in municipal government is expressed.

Contact: Denise Rochon (819) 428-2221.

National Film Board. *Flora: Scenes from a Leadership Convention*, produced by Peter Raymont, 1977, film (58 minutes).

National Film Board. *Reflections on a Leadership Convention*, produced by Peter Raymont, 1978, film (21 minutes).

These two National Film Board documentaries were filmed during the 1977 Conservative Party leadership race, and show candidate Flora MacDonald throughout the event. They focus more specifically on the behind-the-scenes aspects of such an event and on the reaction of the delegates and the Canadian public to the possibility of having a woman leader of a political party. The various stages, procedures, and informal rules involved in a leadership race are also explained.

Available at local NFB offices throughout Canada.

Winning Women. *Run to Win!* Vancouver, B.C.: Committee for Political Skills, 1987, video (28 minutes).

The video *Run to Win!* was filmed during a forum held by Winning Women in 1987, during which 400 participants received practical information and advice on political involvement. This video focuses on how women can get into politics and why every woman should consider doing so.

Available for $35 each from Winning Women in Vancouver (see list of resource groups).

Books

Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale (AFÉAS)

AFÉAS. *Comment prendre sa place en politique.* Montreal: 1986 (47 pages).

AFÉAS. *Actes du carrefour d'exploration «L'accès des femmes au pouvoir politique»*. Montreal: AFÉAS, 1987 (176 pages).

These two papers came out of the symposium "L'accès des femmes au pouvoir politique", held by AFÉAS in 1986. The mini-guide *Comment prendre sa place en politique* explains how to run for municipal, provincial, or federal office and gives advice of all kinds: qualities to cultivate, contacts to establish, and responsibilities inherent in each level of political action. A detailed plan for organizing an election campaign is also included. The proceedings (*Actes*) contain summaries of the workshops and talks given during the symposium. Informative exchanges with women in office give the reader a better grasp of the unspoken rules of politics. Based on a questionnaire distributed at the time of registration, some data are provided on the women who participated in the symposium.

Available from AFÉAS (see list of resource groups).

Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW)

CACSW. *Fine Balances*, Newsletter. Ottawa: 1988 (24 pages).

This issue of the Newsletter focuses on the "Women and Power" symposium held by the CACSW in March 1988. It includes highlights from the workshops, during which various facets of power were discussed, such as economics, money, the media, and levels of government.

CACSW. *Women in Politics: Becoming Full Partners in the Political Process*. Ottawa: 1987 (29 pages) [out of print].

This background paper uses statistics to explore the representation of women at the various levels of Canadian and international politics. Also included is a study of the specific obstacles encountered by women in each of the political spheres (municipal, provincial/territorial, and federal).

Kome, Penney. *Every Voice Counts: A Guide to Personal and Political Action*. Ottawa: CACSW, 1989 (69 pages).

This guide offers practical advice to women who wish to organize around an issue, from the initial choice of a cause to the strategies for arriving at one's goal. Other elements include tips on communicating with the media, recruiting support, and a resource guide. The book is also available on cassette tapes, which have identifying Braille labels.

Morgan, Nicole. *The Equality Game: Women in the Federal Public Service (1908-1987)*. Ottawa: CACSW, 1988 (76 pages).

This is a useful book for understanding discrimination in employment and the subtle forms it takes, based on an in-depth analysis of the structure and culture of the Canadian public service.

These documents are available at most public libraries or from the CACSW National Office at 110 O'Connor Street, 9th floor, P.O. Box 1541, Station B, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5R5; telephone: (613) 992-4976.

Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW)

CRIAW. *Women's Involvement in Political Life: A Pilot Study*. Ottawa: 1986 (CRIAW Collection, Nos. 16-17) (137 pages).

CRIAW and UNESCO. *Getting Things Done: Women's Views of their Involvement in Political Life*. Ottawa: 1988 (59 pages).

These two publications are the result of a joint study conducted in 1986 in several Canadian provinces on women involved in women's groups. Starting from the observation that women are under-represented in the official halls of power, these papers expand the definition of politics to include its less official aspects. A series of interviews conducted with members of a variety of women's groups offers an exploration of political activity as defined by women's practical experience.

Available from: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW), 151 Slater Street, Suite 408, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5H3; telephone: (613) 563-0682.

Winning Women

Winning Women. *The Appointment Book*. Calgary: 1990 (56 pages).

This is a practical guide on how women can get political appointments.

Winning Women. *Before You Vote, Ask Your Candidate*. Winnipeg: 1989 (7 pages).

This pocket-sized guide, which focused on local issues, was published for the fall 1989 Winnipeg election.

Winning Women. *How to Get that Appointment*. Vancouver: 1989 (55 pages).

This book offers a wealth of information useful for any woman interested in getting involved in politics or sitting on councils or committees. It gives advice on how to prepare one's candidacy as well as a list of government and para-governmental organizations in British Columbia whose committees or councils are open to the public.

Available from Winning Women contacts (see list of resource groups).

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Committee for '94. *Let Women Play Too!* Toronto: 1990 (13 pages).

This brief was presented on May 7, 1990, to the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing. The brief called for a system of public funding for candidates in elections, to level the playing field for women, ethnic and racial minorities, and poor people.

Available from the Committee for '94 contact (see list of resource groups).

Desrochers, Lucie. *L'accès des femmes au pouvoir politique : où en sont-elles?* Quebec: Conseil du statut de la femme, Gouvernement du Québec, 1988 (42 pages).

Based on a review of the literature, this paper offers an original analysis of the multi-faceted relationship between women and politics: obstacles, conceptions of power, and the feminist movement with its views on political power. The author makes recommendations aimed at facilitating women's access to power.

Available from: Conseil du statut de la femme, Gouvernement du Québec, 8 Cook St., Suite 300, Quebec City, Quebec, G1R 5J7; telephone: (418) 643-4326.

Femmes en tête. *De travail et d'espoir: des groupes de femmes racontent le féminisme.* Montreal: Éditions du Remue-ménage, 1990 (200 pages).

This book was prepared by Femmes en tête, the organizing committee for "Fifty Hours of Feminism", the 1990 event celebrating the 50th anniversary of Quebec women getting the right to vote. The book traces the work carried out by Quebec women's groups during this period.

Available in bookstores.

Gingras, Anne-Marie. *Les femmes et la politique: une relation très tumultueuse.* Montreal: Fédération des femmes du Québec, 1988 (82 pages).

The first part of this document contains a detailed statistical analysis of women's representation in the political structures of more than 100 countries; the data are presented according to type of political regime. The second part is a critical study of the changes in the number of women in Canada elected to office, along with a description of the obstacles encountered by women attempting to enter politics. The appendix contains brief biographies of women elected to the House of Commons and the Quebec National Assembly (1988).

Available from the FFQ (see list of resource groups).

Gingras, Anne-Marie; Chantal Maillé; and Évelyne Tardy. *Sexes et militantisme.* Montreal: Éditions CIDIHCA, 1989 (256 pages).

This book explores the differences between men and women activists in political parties and unions. Based on 150 interviews, it compares men and women in terms of background, their concepts of activism, and their motives. Special emphasis is placed on the obstacles encountered by women attempting to obtain high-level positions within their organizations. The book also focuses on the perceptions men and women have of measures such as quotas to increase the proportions of women at higher levels in political institutions and unions.

Available from: Éditions CIDIHCA, 417 Saint-Pierre Street, Suite 408, Montreal, Quebec, H2Y 2M4; telephone: (514) 845-0880.

Kealey, Linda and Joan Sangster, eds. *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989 (347 pages).

In 14 articles written by as many different authors, this book offers a fresh look at the political role of women in Canada in the 20th century. Special emphasis is placed on women's activism in parallel organizations such as unions, leftist groups and community associations, but attention is also given to the role of women in Canadian political parties. As a whole, the book calls into question the popular image of women as being absent from the world of politics. Numerous examples are given to illustrate the diversity of women's political involvement throughout history.

Available in bookstores.

Kome, Penney. *Women of Influence: Canadian Women and Politics*. Toronto: Doubleday, 1985 (240 pages).

This book offers a historical analysis of women's representation in Canadian politics, from the first battles of the suffragists through to the movements of the 1980s and the 1984 federal election. The book also looks at the socio-economic situation of women in Canada during the 1950s, 60s and 70s, along with the evolution of feminism and egalitarian measures during these decades.

Available in bookstores.

Payne-O'Connor, Josephine. *Sharing Power: a Political Skills Handbook*. Victoria, B.C.: Victoria Status of Women Action Group, 1986 (186 pages).

Based on a series of interviews with women involved in politics, this book aims to promote a community-oriented vision of political power. On a more concrete level, advice is given on fundraising and election campaigns.

Available from: Victoria Status of Women Action Group, P.O. 6296, Station C, Victoria, B.C., V8P 5L5.